

SAINT GEORGE

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THE PROBLEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

BY C. B. HAWKINS

THERE is perhaps a danger that the very success of Mr. Burns in bringing to justice the corrupt guardians, contractors, and officials who have robbed the public with immunity for so long will promote a dangerous reaction against all local government. Boards of Guardians, for instance, have to be reformed out of existence, for this reason if for no other, that the public has lost confidence in them; and those who live in the districts immediately concerned can scarcely help reflecting that the very men who have been condemned to fine and imprisonment for malpractices as guardians, have also served as Borough Councillors, and at least in one instance, in Mile End, as a County Councillor. The disgrace which has overtaken one branch of local government may easily communicate itself to other branches. This would be lamentable, because local government is the basis of the whole system of administration in England. There is no reason whatever for despair. Corruption and maladministration are not new things. The condition of affairs revealed in the inspectors' reports of their inquiries in Mile End and Poplar is as nothing compared with what Mr. and

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Mrs. Sidney Webb have to describe in their History of Local Government. It is even a sign of grace that the Local Government Board has felt itself sufficiently supported by local opinion to take the steps necessary to bring these offenders to book. Enormous progress has been made since the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, which created County Councils and District and Parish Councils, endowed local government for the first time with something like order and symmetry, and in London since the London Government Act of 1889 substituted twenty-eight Borough Councils for the 127 authorities, which, under the various titles of Vestries, District Boards of Works, Burial Boards, Boards of Library Commissioners, and Baths and Wash-houses Commissioners, had previously mismanaged local affairs. The abolition of the School Boards and the approaching abolition of Boards of Guardians are all signs of a great movement towards unification which has not yet spent its force. It is highly significant that the vigilance of the Local Government Board has been called in to correct the errors of old *ad hoc* authorities, whilst the new unified authorities—the County Councils and Borough Councils—have on the whole been singularly free from positive wrong-doing.

It remains lamentably true, however, that these bodies exhibit an apathy and indifference to public welfare which is almost as criminal, and it is opportune to consider why. The question is worth asking, because, of the whole area of governmental activity in England, by far the larger and more important half falls within the purview of local authorities. Yet for twenty men who could discuss with knowledge and intelligence questions of imperial politics, there is scarcely one who could give even a moderately good account of the duties of a Borough or County Council, or could so much as name the gentlemen who represent him on these important bodies.

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In the average electorate there is a perfectly good standard of political morality. The ordinary elector in Mile End or West Ham would no more think of stealing public money or of jobbing unemployable friends into the public service than he would of flying; but the fact remains that if he does not positively vote for representatives who are guilty of such practices, he does so negatively by not voting at all.

In London at the last elections for the County Councils, Borough Councils, and Boards of Guardians the percentages of electors who actually came to the poll were :—

County Council elections . . .	56 per cent.
Borough Council elections . . .	48 per cent.
Guardians' elections . . .	28 per cent.

The significance of these figures becomes apparent when they are compared with the corresponding figures for Parliamentary elections. At the last General Election the percentage of electors voting in London was 78 per cent. Why is it that 34 per cent more electors recorded their votes in the Parliamentary General Election than in the corresponding elections of local bodies? If electors had weighed in the light of cold reason the relative importance of the two kinds of elections, imperial and local, the balance of interest might surely have been the other way. It really matters far more to the individual citizen that his roads should be adequately cleaned and lighted, his house protected against damp and bad drains, his food safeguarded against adulteration and short weight, than that there should be a Conservative or Liberal or Labour Government at Westminster. But electors are not accustomed to guide their affairs in the light of cold reason. Reasoning counts less with them than persuasion and advertisement, particularly advertisement.

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In democracy everything depends on organization, and it is just here that democracy as a method of local government breaks down. Public opinion no more believes in dishonest guardians and apathetic councillors than it believes in dishonest and apathetic members of Parliament, but it is not organized to express this opinion at the polls. It is easy to see why. Organization is not a thing which can be created without trouble. It involves dull work on dull committees, and all sorts of sacrifices in time and money which no one is prepared to make unless necessity compels him.

The large constituencies and complicated issues of Parliamentary elections make organization absolutely essential if public opinion is to express itself at all. But it is otherwise in elections to local bodies, particularly in elections to *ad hoc* authorities like boards of guardians. Here the constituencies are relatively small, and the issues, however important, are not expressed in the large general way which touches the imagination of electorates. In these small electoral areas where there is none of the excitement of opinions vehemently opposed and vehemently defended, the ordinary associations of citizens in everyday life suffice for the business of election. There is sure to be someone sufficiently well known in the places where citizens and voters congregate to secure the modicum of votes necessary for election. He may be a licensed victualler, a grocer, or a churchwarden. Whoever or whatever he is, he is chosen for public office not because he is specially suited for it, or because he represents the opinions of a majority of the electors, but for the accidental and quite irrelevant reason that he happens to have a wide circle of acquaintance. But the point is that he is elected, and that once elected he does carry on, however ineffectually, the duties of his office. So long as it is possible for elections to local authorities to take place in this haphazard, accidental sort of way, so long will local bodies con-

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tinue to be inefficient and ratepayers apathetic. Democracy must always work badly where the conditions imposed do not necessitate the organization and education of public opinion. The whole difference between local and imperial politics lies here. If local elections could be made difficult and arduous as Parliamentary elections are difficult and arduous, there would at once be the organization and education of opinion which is required.

The first and most obvious step is the abolition of the ridiculous ward divisions. Where the electorate is so large that no mere circle of acquaintances can decide the issue, candidates will be driven to organize opinion and formulate programmes. Interest will be stimulated, and the Press will find it necessary to comment fully and intelligently on local questions. There is no reason at all why the great questions of principle which lie behind the detail of local government should be neglected as they are. Of recent years Socialists have been doing yeoman service in this respect. Their doctrines fall easily into the shape of reasoned municipal programmes, and in local areas where socialism is strong—in Poplar, for instance—they have raised the whole standard of civic life through the mere fact that they have put local questions in such a way that opponents have had to meet them in the discussion of general principles. If any proof is wanted of the propositions just advanced, is it not to be found in the superiority of the London County Council in calibre and efficiency to any other local authority in London? The electoral divisions for the London County Council are large—they are coterminous with the Parliamentary divisions—and opinion has to be organized and educated for County Council elections almost as much as for Parliamentary elections. This is the whole point, and if it be objected that municipal life in London has in consequence become dominated by a party system, the answer is that we want not less but more party in local government.

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If party is necessary for the working of a system of representative government in central affairs, what ground is there for supposing that it is bad and unnecessary in local government?

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NOW that Missions to Germany have become popular, it is well to remind ourselves of an inquiry, scientific in character and comprehensive in scope, of which the results are already before us. We refer to the inquiry into the cost of living in German towns published two years ago by the Board of Trade. It is curious that so little has been heard of this invaluable document. Many people, including not a few members of Parliament, are even now unaware of its existence.

Yet this blue-book gives us just the careful, exact, and scrupulously impartial sifting of facts which is needed. In all, eighty-three of the most important industrial towns in Germany were visited by the Board's investigators during the year 1906-7. The object of their inquiry was to ascertain the character of the housing accommodation available for working men in Germany, the rents they have to pay for it, the nature, quality, and cost of working-class diet, and the earnings and hours of labour, particularly in the building, engineering, and printing trades. This information was collected not merely by personal visitation, but with the help of the Burgomasters and municipal statistical departments, Chambers of Commerce, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and the whole resources of the British Consular Service. No private investigators can hope to enjoy anything like the same facilities. Moreover, the accredited representatives of the Board of Trade were able to cover the whole ground. They did not merely gather a hasty impression from a few hours spent in certain selected towns.

In Germany such an impression is particularly likely to be misleading. The ugly mean streets which we associate with

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poverty in England are not to be found there. Except in very large towns there is not the same class segregation. Rich and poor do not live apart in districts of their own, but share the same streets and often the same buildings. The separate house system to which we are accustomed in England is hardly to be found. Everyone lives in flats, and the separation of classes is horizontal, not vertical. A baron may live on the ground floor, a titled Government official in the rooms above, whilst higher up still may be found a small tradesman, and under the roof perhaps an artisan earning 30s. a week.

It is therefore easy for an Englishman to come away from a brief inspection of industrial towns in Germany sincerely convinced that there is no housing problem in any way comparable with the problem of an English slum.

Unhappily, however, the German working man is often housed under conditions just as fatal to a happy, healthy life as any to be found in this country. This is quite clear from the reports of the Board of Trade investigators on the towns they visited. It will suffice to take Berlin as an example. In Berlin the normal type of working-class dwelling consists of two or three rooms, in a five-storied barrack building overlooking a gloomy courtyard. However imposing the street may be, it is a poor compensation to those who have to depend for light and air on a courtyard, which may be no more than twelve yards wide, and into which the fresh air can only penetrate through the entrance passages of the front block. If, as sometimes happens, the courtyards are built two or three deep, one behind the other, the possibilities of proper ventilation are even more remote. Thirty-seven per cent of the working-class tenements in Berlin consist of one room and a kitchen, though the rooms are larger and loftier than they would be in London. The nature of the housing problem in the capital of the German Empire is expressed still more emphatically in the fact that eighty-five out of every hundred households possess

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four rooms *or less*, whilst in London the corresponding percentage is fifty-four out of every hundred.

Outside Berlin the Board of Trade ascertained that the commonest type of working-class dwelling was a flat of three rooms, though two and four-roomed flats are common. The rent ordinarily paid for three rooms by a German working man was found to range from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 9d. In England about the same amount would be paid for similar accommodation. The ordinary English working man, however, does not live in a three-roomed flat. He enjoys a separate house with four or five rooms and a scullery, and for this he pays a proportionately higher rent. On the other hand, English rent includes rates, which a German workman pays separately. Allowing for this factor, which represents about a fifth of the rent, the Englishman pays for his superior accommodation about the same as the German does for his three rooms.

The Englishman can afford to do this because his wages are higher. This has been made clear by the inquiry into wages and cost of living in the United Kingdom, which was published two years ago. The information obtained in both the English and German inquiries relate to the same period, namely, October, 1905, so that they are strictly comparable. In the volume on Germany the results for both countries are set out in parallel columns. In the three trades selected for comparison—building, engineering, and printing—it was found that the earnings of the German workman are on an average about 17 per cent less than those of his English *confrère*, whilst the hours are 10 per cent longer. For example, bricklayers in England earn for a full week in summer from 37s. 6d. to 40s. 6d. for an average of 52½ hours' work; in Germany the earnings range from 26s. 11d. to 31s. 3d. for an average of fifty-nine hours' work.

This would not signify so much if the cost of necessities to a German workman, other than housing, was less than it

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would be in England. In order to throw light on this subject, the Board of Trade investigators collected over 5000 working-class budgets of household expenditure, mainly through Trade Unions. These were classified under certain income limits, and from the data thus prepared an average household budget was constructed for the whole of Germany. The diet of a German workman contains proportionately more potatoes, milk, margarine, butter, and other fats than an English diet, and less bread, meat, and sugar. Despite the fact that potatoes and milk are cheaper in Germany than in England, the German workman has to spend more on food and fuel than he would in England. For the quantities of each article specified in the average budget he would have paid in October, 1905, 152 pence in Germany against $141\frac{1}{4}$ pence in England. In both countries the cost would now be slightly more, owing to a general rise of prices. The result is due to the fact that meat, bread, sugar, and coal are all dearer in Germany. The German workman prefers grey bread made from a mixture of rye and wheat, but this costs more than the wheaten bread of an English dietary. In October, 1905, the price of a 4-lb. loaf in Germany ranged from $4\frac{3}{4}$ d. to $6\frac{1}{2}$ d., whilst in England, at the same date, the quartern loaf cost from $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ d.

To sum up, therefore, an English workman who went to live in Germany, and continued to live as he had been accustomed to do, would find that his expenditure on necessities was increased by 18 per cent. At the same time, he would have to be content with a two or three-roomed flat instead of a four or five-roomed house, and he would be obliged to work longer hours for a lower weekly wage. In any comparison between Free Trade England and a highly protected country like Germany these facts are surely of fundamental importance, and we should do well to keep them in mind.

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EVERY year in these islands tuberculous disease exacts a toll of some 60,000 lives. Add to this the fact that pulmonary consumption, the commonest form of phthisis, is peculiarly a disease of adult life, and it is easy to realize the enormous burden which this one disease throws on the community. Every practical guardian knows how many applications for relief are to be traced to this cause alone. In England and Wales there are at any time rather more than 200,000 men afflicted with tubercle, of whom the majority will ultimately come upon the Poor Law. And this is the least part of the ratepayer's burden. Most of these men are in the prime of life, and leave behind them wives and children dependent on the public purse. The annual expenditure of the Poor Law amounts to over 14½ millions. If the outlay directly or indirectly attributable to tubercle could be eliminated, the total would be diminished almost certainly by a quarter, and perhaps by as much as one-third.

We emphasize this aspect of the subject, because many people are tempted to close further discussion by the statement that in sixty years consumption has diminished by one-half, and that if the fall continues at the same rate the disease will practically have disappeared by the year 1950.

This may be a good argument against proposals for the control of phthisis, which involve enormous expenditure, or serious interference with family life. Compulsory isolation of every case in expensive sanatoria is an example. Even this might be worth while. Costly insurance is good business when the risks are correspondingly valuable.

But experts are now coming forward with schemes which are cheaper and probably not less effective. The plan which

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Dr. Newsholme adopted at Brighton is one of these. He found that at Brighton, as in other towns, the isolation hospital for smallpox was in practice absolutely empty for years at a time. He persuaded the Brighton Town Council to allow these expensive and elaborately equipped wards to be used, not as a sanatorium, but as a hospital for the educational treatment of consumptive patients. General practitioners in Brighton were informed that any case which came under their notice, which they cared to notify to the Medical Officer of Health, would as far as possible be given treatment for a month. During this time they had complete rest, suitable diet, proper medical supervision, and, above all, were carefully trained in the management of their disease. This training, it was claimed, prolonged the patients' lives, and made them infinitely less dangerous to their friends when they were discharged to their homes. At the same time, seeing that tuberculosis is not an acute disease, the isolation wards could at any time be relieved of the patients if there was an outbreak of infectious disease. In Manchester, where a similar use was made of the smallpox hospital, this course was actually adopted without difficulty.

This plan, excellent as it is, has two great drawbacks. Buildings which are intended for the isolation of such a disease as smallpox are not structurally well adapted for the treatment of phthisis. Moreover, it does not necessarily provide for the isolation of the consumptive patient during the whole course of his illness. On these and other grounds the example of Brighton and Manchester has not been generally followed.

A new plan, brought forward recently at a county meeting presided over by the Lord-Lieutenant of Essex, in the Shire-hall at Chelmsford, appears to avoid these difficulties in a completely satisfactory way. The Chelmsford Union is largely rural in character, and the Poor Law Medical Officer in the Great Baddow district, Dr. A. E. Lyster, has for the last ten

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years been treating consumptives on original lines. It is not the treatment which is new, but the application of it. It occurred to him that there was nothing inherently impracticable in bringing the open-air cure to the homes of his working-class patients. After considerable experiment, he devised a shelter of wood and canvas, which combines adequate protection against the weather with the greatest possible amount of light and air. The novel point about this shelter is the use of canvas, through which light and air can pass freely, and its extraordinary cheapness. A shelter of this type can be provided and equipped with all necessary furniture for less than £20. Dr. Lyster then persuaded his patients to live in these shelters, either in their own gardens or in some adjacent field. As the medical officer and the general practitioner of the district, he was able to isolate in this way every case of phthisis which presented itself in a population of a little under five thousand. The initial cost of the huts—he has only required six—was met by the public spirit of a resident in his district. In ten years the whole expenditure has been no more than £100.

At first Dr. Lyster attempted no more than the effective isolation of his patients in the open, combined with medical supervision. For diet and nursing the patients were left to the ordinary resources of their families. Subsequently small groups of shelters were established, and now he has under his charge at Great Baddow a small colony of shelters sufficient for the simultaneous treatment of ten cases. An adjoining cottage suffices for an administrative block, and the cottager and his wife do all that is required in the way of catering, cooking, and attending to the patients. This central colony is intended for the reception of patients who either cannot be treated at their own homes or for whom a preliminary educational course is desirable under closer supervision than can be given by a doctor on his rounds. The cost of such an institu-

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tion, compared with the expensive bricks and mortar of a modern sanatorium, is, of course, negligible. It is calculated that accommodation for one hundred patients, with an inexpensive brick building for administrative purposes, need cost no more than £60 a bed, compared with the £100 or £200 per bed in an ordinary sanatorium.

But the central colony is only an adjunct, though a necessary and important adjunct, to Dr. Lyster's scheme, which consists essentially in the early and continuous isolation of tuberculous patients in their own homes. It is not claimed that the Lyster system secures an unusually large percentage of recoveries, but it does secure effective isolation. Even when the patient has reached a stage beyond hope of recovery, so long as he is outside the house, in the open, there is little risk of infection for his family. Incidentally he will certainly prolong his own life. Moreover, the open shelter is an object lesson to the whole village. Everyone who passes by gets a clearer perception of the value of fresh air, sunshine, and cleanliness. It is this salutary publicity to which Dr. Lyster's success must be largely ascribed. The cases which in other districts go untreated, have in Great Baddow freely come forward for diagnosis and treatment. From the public health point of view this is a matter of the utmost importance. Every untreated case is a source of infection for others. In Great Baddow this axiom of public health has received a remarkable illustration in the fact that since 1908 all the cases which have come under Dr. Lyster's notice have been imported cases. That is to say, in eight years he has been able to eliminate every centre of infection in his own district.

So far as rural areas are concerned, there is no reason why the Great Baddow example should not be successfully followed elsewhere. An association has been formed to extend the system to the whole of Essex. It has been adopted, under semi-official auspices, by the county of Buckingham, and

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similar schemes are under consideration in Warwickshire and Shropshire. For urban areas some modification will obviously be necessary. But even in London there are a great many patients who would probably make good progress if they could be induced to live in a back garden or yard which was reasonably open and sunny. For the others there still remains the possibility of treatment in a Lyster sanatorium. The Guardians of West Ham have decided to build such a sanatorium, and this experiment deserves to be carefully watched.

THE DUTY OF THE CITIZEN TO THE STATE : CIVIC SERVICE

By T. C. HORSFALL

THE definition of "Civic" in *Murray's Dictionary* is : "Of or pertaining to citizenship ; occasionally in contrast to military, ecclesiastical, etc." My subject, therefore, is those of the duties of the Christian citizen to the State, that is, to his fellow-citizens, which are not military or ecclesiastical. The teaching of the New Testament does not allow us to regard these civic duties as other than very comprehensive and very important. We are told that he who fails to feed those of his fellow-citizens who are hungry, to give drink to those who are thirsty, to receive those who are strangers, to clothe those who are naked, and to visit those who are sick and prisoners, has no place in the Kingdom prepared for the blessed of the Father, that he is not a Christian citizen. And as we are also told that man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, it is made our duty to try to ensure that all good influences, which are as necessary for healthy life as are food and clothing, shall be felt by all our fellow-citizens. The teaching respecting the giving of our cloak to him who has taken our coat shows that the extent of our duty to the community is limited only by that of its need for help, and that of our power to help. The parable of the talents makes it clear that for those who can combine with others for common action to help the community, individual effort does not amount to fulfilment of duty, that duty is not fulfilled unless the talent of co-operation, and every other advantage which each of us possesses, have been used as fully as possible. It is true that these lessons, if they

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stood alone, could not be obeyed by the Christian citizen. But however much modified their sense may have to be in the light of other teaching of our Lord's and that of experience, they do not mean less than this, that no one is a Christian citizen who does not do his best to try to ensure that all his fellow-citizens shall be enabled and induced to live a full healthy life.

I am sure that no one who has lived much with working people, with people to whom insufficiency of food and clothing is known, can doubt that the existing relation to this teaching of the majority of the citizens who believe themselves to be members of the Church, and that of the Church as a whole, is profoundly wrong, that it is causing great moral harm to those who do not know what their duty is, that it greatly discredits and weakens the Church, and allows a vast deal of misery, degradation, and sin to exist in the community which the creation of a right relation of the Church to the teaching would make impossible. It is true that, as I have already said, the lessons to which I have referred cannot, as a rule, be literally obeyed. We soon find out that giving without stint generally does far more harm than good, but we know that that was the case nineteen hundred years ago just as it is to-day, and that therefore the teaching does not mean that, as a rule, we are to give without stint. We know with certainty that the teaching has to be obeyed under the control of those other lessons of Christ, the master-lessons that we must love God with all our powers and must do unto others as we would be done by, and also in the light of the much-neglected lesson of the parable of the unjust steward, that we must use as much ingenuity in the service of God and our neighbour as a rogue uses for the gaining of his selfish objects. From the first the teaching of Christ has been : "Do for your neighbour all that after the most careful thought you believe will be for his good, and abstain from doing anything that you believe would injure him." As we know that it demoralizes almost everyone to give him that which he can get

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for himself, or can be trained to obtain for himself, it is our clear duty to let it be our rule to train to obtain, and to give only those necessary things which our neighbour cannot be trained to obtain for himself. A most important part of the lesson which we have to learn is that it is our duty to try to ensure that *all* that is necessary for full healthy life is obtained by everyone. If one hundred things are necessary, our duty is not fulfilled when we have tried to ensure that our neighbour shall have ten or twenty or ninety-nine of the things ; we must try to ensure that he shall have every one of the hundred. It is only by ensuring that he shall have all the things which are necessary for health of mind and soul as well as of body that we can ensure that he shall have even enough food. It is, I believe, just because the Church has failed to see that the teaching which Christ means her to give to all citizens is : "You must give food, clothing, companionship, and all the other necessities of life, or the power to earn them, to all your neighbours ; but you must give these things only to those to whom you cannot give the power to earn them," that she leaves many of her members in such wrong relation with the duty of giving.

As it is the duty of the Christian citizen to try to ensure that all his fellow-citizens shall have all the things which are absolutely necessary for full healthy life, it is obviously part of his duty to get to know what all those necessary things are. What are they ? In the rest of my twenty minutes I cannot tell you all the things which I know or believe to be among the number, but in a minute or two I can tell you of things which indubitably are necessities of life, and which yet not nearly all citizens try to provide for their neighbours.

We know now from the examinations made by school doctors of tens of thousands of children, with a degree of certainty which no earlier generation has possessed, that good physical health and strength are conditions, not only of mental health and vigour, but also of moral health and vigour—that

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lack of physical health causes a great deal of moral perversity and depravity which often passes away, if physical vigour is gained, as darkness passes away when the sun rises. And we know that among the conditions necessary for the attainment and retention of physical health and vigour are physical exercise, abundance of light and fresh air, habits of cleanliness. It must therefore be part of the duty of the Christian citizen to try to ensure that all his fellow-citizens shall be enabled and induced to obtain all these things.

But as necessary as all these things, and also necessary for the purpose of making all these things be means for life which is life indeed, are love of God and love and respect for man. And reverential love of God is impossible without much knowledge of His great works, of the beauty of nature, and without knowledge of the truth that He has made man potentially good and great ; and respect and love for man is not likely to be felt by anyone who does not possess a large amount of knowledge of the noblest deeds of men, and who does not find in art evidence of the truth that there is no kind of beauty in the world which man cannot assimilate by admiration and reproduce in his work.

In most of our towns there is a great deal of drunkenness, betting, and gambling, and no one who knows under what conditions the people are living will believe that, if the evil spirits of drunkenness and betting were exorcised, and the conditions remained the same, the places of those evil spirits would not be quickly filled by other spirits as evil. If our people are not to be the victims of the bad side of the highly developed system of "civilization" in which we are all living, they must be protected from the evil side by the influence of the good side. It has been proved that, by good manual training, by the right teaching of singing, and by the use of pictures in schools, nearly all children can be interested in good music and in many kinds of art, and by giving them these ennobling interests, as well as the protection of wholesome kinds of physical exercise, of which I

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have already spoken, our English town populations could certainly have the demons of drinking and betting expelled and their places taken by good spirits. Yet another part of the duty of the Christian citizen consists in care of the dwellings, and the surroundings of the dwellings, of his neighbours.

Further, full healthy life is made impossible for thousands of persons by their failing to receive, in elementary and continuation schools in childhood and early youth, training which fits them for skilled occupations, and for thousands of others by temporary inability to work, brought on by accident or by illness in early or middle life.

One important part of the civic duty of the Christian citizen to the State is, then, to ascertain what are all those of the conditions which are necessary for full healthy life, which his neighbours cannot obtain except by the help, direct or indirect, of the community. Another part of his duty is obviously to try to enable and induce the community to give the necessary direct and indirect help.

How are these parts of his duty to be done?

First, how is the individual citizen to learn what are all the conditions necessary for the health of the community? I believe that the Church as a whole ought to obtain and supply this information. A great part of the time of the Great Council of the Church, of the Convocations, of Diocesan and Ruridecanal Conferences ought to be given to the task of reaching agreement as to what the necessary conditions are, and, as knowledge is gained, it should be passed on to the mass of the laity through the clergy.

The second question is: How is the community to be enabled and induced to create the conditions needed for health? Only by the help of Parliament can some of them be created, and only by means of Town and County Councils and other administrative bodies can such work as the creation and proper management of playgrounds and the giving of manual training in schools

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be done. How is the citizen to influence Parliament and administrative bodies? It is, of course, part of his duty to seek election to all such bodies, if he knows or believes that he has the qualities needed in a representative, and if he is able to serve on them; and it is an important part of the duty of every citizen to use his own power as an elector and to try to persuade his fellow-citizens to use their power as electors, to enable and induce men who know what are the needs of the community and desire to get those needs supplied, to serve on elected bodies. But experience has proved that Parliament and administrative bodies cannot, unaided, supply the community with all the conditions which are necessary for health. If the Church were to undertake the task of discovering what the conditions are and of conveying the knowledge to all its clerical and lay members, Parliament, administrative bodies, and electors also would soon be better informed and more eager for reform than they are at present; but for a long time to come, if reform is to be obtained, it will be necessary that all through the country there shall be organizations of well-informed persons which seek to call the attention of the mass of the electors and of the elected to the need for reform, to persuade the persons who are best qualified for service to seek election, and to persuade the electors to elect them.

I believe it to be an extremely important part of the duty of the citizen, both to the State and to the Church, to use fully all his influence to induce the Church either to make all her parochial churches become these necessary organizations or at least to call organizations of the kind into existence. Further, I believe it to be an even more important part of his duty to use fully all his influence with the Church to induce her to say distinctly that no one is one of her members who does not try to create all the conditions needed to enable all his fellow-citizens to live a full and healthy life. Should a day ever come on which the Church says, as plainly as Christ said it, that the

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supplying of the needy with all those of the real necessities of life which they cannot obtain for themselves, is work, refusal to participate in which involves exclusion from the Kingdom, and therefore also from the Church, and that it is one of the principal duties of the Church to enable all her members to participate effectively in the work, and thus to fulfil their civic duty to the State, that will be the best day that has dawned for State and Church for many centuries. It will be the first day on which the mass of the people and the unselfish rich can hear the Church's message with full gladness, and the first day on which real missionary work to intelligent races can begin. For at present no intelligent and kind-hearted heathen who sees what is the condition of our large towns and the apparent indifference of the majority of the members of the Church to it would accept our religion. The task which the Church would assume would be difficult, but the work of the Church of Christ cannot be easy. The exaction of work from every member of the Church would doubtless restrict membership, but the Church ought not to desire to be a broad road crowded with self-indulgent people. The road which leads to life must always be the narrow one of self-sacrifice and unselfish service of God and of the community.

LABOUR EXCHANGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

A Paper submitted to the International Conference on Unemployment, Paris, 1910.

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“**I**N the forefront of our proposals we place Labour Exchanges.” These are the words of the Majority of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress due to Unemployment which reported at the beginning of 1909.

“This National Labour Exchange, though in itself no adequate remedy, is the foundation of all our proposals. It is, in our view, an indispensable condition of any real reforms.” These are the no less emphatic words of the Minority of the same Commission. The two parties of the Commission, while differing in so much else, agreed in their advocacy of a national system of Labour Exchanges as the basis of any effective dealing with unemployment.

The object of this paper is to describe briefly yet as completely as possible the steps that have already been taken in the United Kingdom to put into force this particular recommendation of the Poor Law Commission. The description cannot, indeed, be altogether complete. In the first place, the Labour Exchange system about to be described is still only in process of establishment. Less than half the proposed Exchanges in the towns have been established, and those only since the beginning of February. Little or nothing has yet been done for the country districts. In the second place, the Labour Exchange system itself is only part of a larger scheme for dealing with distress—a scheme involving as its next great step the establishment in certain important industries of a system of

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compulsory insurance against unemployment. At one time it seemed possible that the Bill to establish this insurance might have been introduced and even passed into law before the date of this Conference.

Since that has not happened the Labour Exchange system has for the moment to be considered by itself.

It will be best to deal in order with the organization and methods of the Labour Exchange system, its guiding principles, and its actual work up to the present time.

Organization and Methods of the Labour Exchange System

A Bill "to provide for the establishment of Labour Exchanges and for other purposes incidental thereto" was introduced by the President of the Board of Trade on behalf of the Government on May 20th, 1909. It was received with favour by leading members of all parties, and, meeting with practically no opposition, was passed on 20th September, 1909, and became the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909 (Appendix A).

This Act is the foundation of the system of Labour Exchanges now to be described, yet the Act itself gives little or no indication of the nature of that system. It is limited to a very few clauses, of which the chief one provides that "the Board of Trade may establish and maintain, in such places as they think fit, Labour Exchanges and may assist any Labour Exchanges maintained by any other authorities or persons." The only other points to notice in the Act are :—

1. That provision can be made for advancing by way of loan the fares of workpeople travelling to employment found for them through a Labour Exchange.

2. That any person making a false statement to an officer of a Labour Exchange for the purpose of obtaining employment or procuring workpeople is liable to a fine up to £5.

The Act itself, in fact, did little more than give power to

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expend money from the national exchequer on the establishment of Labour Exchanges, i.e. of offices "for the purposes of collecting and furnishing information either by the keeping of registers, or otherwise, respecting employers who desire to engage workpeople and workpeople who seek engagement or employment." The number and position of the Labour Exchanges and the principles and methods to be applied in their working were left to the administrative action of the Board of Trade. On the introduction of the Bill, however, an outline of the system projected by the Board was presented to Parliament, and the General Regulations for its management were drawn up after full consultation with representative associations of employers and workmen.

The system of Labour Exchanges which is now being established under this Act is national in both senses of the word—it extends or is intended to extend to all parts of the United Kingdom, and it is directly managed and paid for by a national authority—the Board of Trade. The municipal authorities take no direct part in the administration and are not liable for any of the expenditure, though many of them have greatly helped the Exchanges by giving facilities for advertisement and in other ways. The details of this national system may now be briefly described.

The Central Office of the system is naturally situated in London. It does not deal with employers or workpeople direct—otherwise than in certain cases of emigration—but serves simply for organization, control, and statistics. It forms a branch of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade.

Under this Central Office the whole country is divided into eleven principal divisions (shown in Table I), each under the charge of a "Divisional Officer," who has absolute authority over all the Exchanges in his division and through whom all orders and communications concerning them pass. Each division is thus a unit for purposes of control and also for the

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purposes of "clearing-house" work, i.e. the transference of unemployed workpeople in one place to meet an unsatisfied demand for labour elsewhere.

In each division are a number of Exchanges of different grades according to the number and importance of the towns to be served. The original scheme prepared by the Board of Trade made, upon a basis of population, five main grades of Exchanges :—

Class A Exchanges	.	Towns over 100,000.
" B "	.	Towns 50,000 to 100,000.
" C "	.	Towns 25,000 to 50,000.
		Suburban districts and small towns near larger ones.
Waiting Rooms	.	For special trades and districts, e.g. near docks, etc.

The grade of the Exchange determines roughly both the staff allowed and the extent and variety of the accommodation for workpeople. In Class A, for instance, the normal staff would be a manager, an assistant manager, four registration clerks, and a clerk messenger, while a sub-office would have only an assistant manager (working under the supervision of the manager of a neighbouring important Exchange), a clerk, and a messenger, and a waiting-room might only have a single officer. So, too, the smallest Exchanges provide at most two waiting-rooms—for men and women respectively—while in the larger ones provision is made for dealing separately with skilled workmen, general labourers, skilled women, unskilled women, boys and girls. In no case, however, is any such complete classification and separation of different trades attempted as is to be found in some of the largest German Exchanges. The Exchanges are only in the first stage of their development and are housed in such temporary premises as could be found

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and adapted at short notice. It is proposed later to build premises for many of the Class A Exchanges. It should be added that while the grade of the Exchange determines roughly the staff and accommodation provided, the rule is not absolute. London and some other of the large towns, with populations of half a million or more, obviously require exceptional treatment. So too the gradation of Exchanges by population is not absolute. The industrial conditions and situation are necessarily taken into account. Finally, as might be expected, the original scheme has had to be modified in various ways, in the light of experience. The main lines of the scheme, however, remain unaltered.

TABLE I
Number and Distribution of Exchanges

Division.	Divisional Centre.	Exchanges open 1st June, 1910.	Exchanges to open later.	Total Exchanges proposed.
London and South Eastern	London.	28	16	44
South Western . . .	Bristol . . .	8	4	12
East Midlands . . .	Nottingham . . .	6	14	20
West Midlands . . .	Birmingham . . .	9	25	34
South Wales ¹ . . .	Cardiff . . .	6	5	11
Liverpool and District ¹ .	Liverpool . . .	3	15	18
North and East Lancashire	Manchester . . .	16	14	30
Yorkshire . . .	Leeds and Sheffield	9	16	25
Northern . . .	Newcastle . . .	6	9	15
Scotland . . .	Glasgow . . .	7	17	24
Ireland . . .	Dublin . . .	6	15	21
		104	150	254

The total number of proposed Exchanges of these five grades is just over 250, each division having as a rule from 20 to 30, though one or two have fewer, while the London and South Eastern Division has considerably more. At the present

¹ The two Divisions are under the charge of the same officer.

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moment only just over 100 of these offices are open—though these include nearly all the more important ones. The whole of the remainder will, it is hoped, be opened during the next six months. Provision will then have been made for practically all towns with populations of 25,000 or more, and their suburbs, together with a certain number of smaller towns. There will still remain to be dealt with the bulk of the separate towns under 25,000 and the country districts.

With regard to these, two alternative methods are proposed. One method involves the distribution at the post offices of registration forms to be filled in by applicants for employment and posted to the nearest Exchange. The other method involves the provision by the municipal authority of a room where an officer from the nearest Exchange can attend on one or two stated days each week (so far as possible a market day is chosen) to receive applications from workmen and to see employers. In such cases public notices are exhibited to the effect that applications for employment or workpeople may be made to this officer in person at the place and time stated or by post at any time to the nearest Exchange. A single officer will be able to deal in this way with perhaps four or five smaller towns, travelling constantly from one to the other. This second plan is already being tried in the west of England and other rural districts, and is being extended continually.

It may be added that the total number of officers of all ranks is now about 600 (including some 130 women), and will ultimately be probably not far short of 1000. The estimated cost of the whole system during the year 1910-11 is £210,000, inclusive of an allowance for gradually acquiring sites and building permanent premises.

The current working of the Exchanges may now be briefly described. Workpeople are, as a rule, registered by a clerk, who takes down their answers to questions put in accordance with the form of application shown in Appendix C, but they may if

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they prefer it (as is sometimes the case with the more skilled men and clerks) fill in a form themselves and hand it to the clerk. In the former case the answers are entered directly on to an index card, which then forms the workman's record in the Exchange; in the latter case the answers filled in by the workman have subsequently to be transferred to an index card. Workpeople are not under any obligation to answer all the questions on the form, and on the other hand they may volunteer additional information. Workpeople residing within three miles of an Exchange are required to register in person; others may make application by post. Applicants under seventeen years of age have a different form (see Appendix C), the forms for men, women, boys, and girls all having distinctive colours. On registration each applicant is given a Registration Card (see Appendix C). This card he must, so long as he wishes to remain on the register, bring with him every week to the Exchange to be stamped, while if he obtains work through his own efforts he is required to return the card at once to the Exchange through the post with a statement to this effect. When the Registration Card is given out it is marked with the day of the week, and the workman is asked to come again on that same day each following week. The card is addressed on the back to the Labour Exchange, and is franked for free transmission through the post. Applications for workpeople are as a rule received by telephone, though naturally in some cases employers write or send a messenger or come themselves. When an application has been received from an employer and a suitable workman found by the Exchange—either from among those in the waiting-room or by summoning one from his home—the workman is sent to the employer with an Identification Card (see Appendix C) which the latter is requested to sign and return with a statement as to whether the man has been engaged or not. This card also is now franked for free transmission through the post.

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The index cards of the workpeople who have registered or renewed their registration within the past week, and have not since then obtained employment, form the Live Register of the Exchange, and it is to these primarily that the Exchange looks for the filling of any vacancies that may be notified by employers, the cards being arranged by occupations. It is, moreover, this Live Register that is used for the purpose of statistics. The cards of those who fail to renew their applications on the right day are generally left for a week or a fortnight in an "Intermediate Register," while there is a Dead Register of all those who have obtained employment or have not presented themselves at the Exchange for some weeks. Should one of these men on the Dead Register appear at the Exchange later, his old index card will be used again, but he will count as a fresh registration.

Guiding Principles

Such in brief is the system of Labour Exchanges now in process of establishment in the United Kingdom. Its main characteristics may be summed up by saying that it is national, industrial, free, voluntary, and impartial.

First, the system is national, as is mentioned above, in two senses. It is framed so as to cover the whole of the United Kingdom, and it is administered by a department of the central Government, through officers appointed and paid by that Department.

Second, the system is industrial and not eleemosynary. Every attempt has been made to free the Labour Exchanges from any form of association with the Poor Law, charity, or the relief of distress, and to give to them the character of a piece of industrial organization of which any man may avail himself, and with as little loss of self-respect as is involved in using the post office or a public road. The administering authority is

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not the Poor Law Guardians, or the Distress Committees of the Unemployed Workmen Act, or even the Local Government Board, but the Board of Trade—a Department already in touch in many ways with associations of employers and of workmen. The questions asked of workpeople at the Exchanges relate solely to their industrial qualifications and not to their poverty, family circumstances, thrift, or similar matters. The only thing to be obtained through the Labour Exchanges is ordinary employment, so that there is no inducement for those to come there who want only relief and are not capable of work. On the other hand, the Exchanges deal with all kinds of employment, skilled and unskilled, with the single exception of indoor domestic servants.

Third, the system is free—that is to say, no fees of any kind are charged either to employers or to workmen.

Fourth, the system is voluntary. No compulsion is exercised or is exercisable under the Labour Exchanges Act upon employers or workmen to use the Exchanges against their will. The success of the system depends upon its efficiency and upon the persuasiveness of its officials.

Fifth, the system is impartial, as between employers and workmen, in questions where the interest of the two parties come into real or apparent conflict. It is, indeed, self-evident that a system of Labour Exchanges dependent upon the voluntary support of both parties must be impartial in order to have any hope of success. The exact measures demanded by the principle of impartiality in each case, however, are by no means so self-evident. In Germany four different principles have been tried in different places with regard to trade disputes.

1. To ignore trade disputes altogether, i.e. to send workmen to a vacancy created by a dispute in exactly the same way as to any other vacancy and without special warning.

2. To register vacancies created by a dispute and to notify them to applicants for work, but in doing so to give formal

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notice of the dispute either to the workman individually, or by placards in the Exchange premises.

3. To suspend operations within the range of the dispute during its continuance.

4. To make action in each particular case depend upon the meeting and decision of Arbitration Court.

There can be no doubt that the second of these plans is the one that has most approved itself in Germany, and it is the one that has been adopted in the United Kingdom. By Clause III of the General Regulations (Appendix B) any association of employers or workmen may file at a Labour Exchange a statement as to the existence of a trade dispute involving a strike or lock-out, and this statement must be communicated by the Exchange to any workman to whom a vacancy is notified with an employer affected by the dispute. Apart from this the statement is confidential; it is not shown to the workmen generally, and it is not shown at all unless and until a vacancy is notified by the employer affected. Moreover, any employer against whom such a statement is filed must, if he sends for men, be told of the statement and be given a chance of making a counter statement. The original statement of the fact of the strike is valid only for seven days, and must be formally renewed in order to remain in force. As regards wages and conditions, the Exchanges, in accordance with Clause IV of the General Regulations (Appendix B), take the standpoint of complete non-interference. Employers and workmen must make their own terms, collectively or individually; the business of the Exchange is simply to provide information. Only where it is a question of the Exchange actually advancing fares to workmen is a different principle adopted. Another section of the General Regulations has the effect of securing that no such advance shall be made where the officer has reason to believe that the employment to which the workman proposes to travel is due to a trade dispute or is at a rate

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of wages lower than that current in the trade and district concerned.

A further embodiment of the principle of impartiality is to be found in the proposed constitution of "Advisory Trade Committees" for the Exchanges. These Committees will consist of "equal numbers of persons representing employers and workmen in the district, appointed by the Board of Trade after consultation with such bodies and persons as they may think best qualified to advise them on the matter, together with a chairman agreed on by a majority both of the persons representing employers and of the persons representing workmen, or in default of such agreement, appointed by the Board of Trade." Active steps are now being taken for the formation of several such Committees which will deal with large areas and not with single Exchanges.

Work of the Exchanges

It remains now only to give a brief account of what has actually been done by the Exchanges since their commencement. The Labour Exchanges Bill, as already stated, was passed on September 20th, 1909, and the first officers were appointed under it a few days later. The next four months were very fully occupied in the preliminary work of collecting staff, obtaining premises, framing working rules, and undertaking such propaganda work as time permitted. On the 1st February, 1910, the Board took over from the Central (Unemployed) Body for London the twenty Exchanges established by the latter body in 1906 under the Unemployed Workmen Act, and at the same time opened another 63 Exchanges in London and the provincial towns. Since that date other Exchanges have been opened at intervals, the total number at work on the 1st of June being 104 out of a projected total of over 250. The Table II, on the next page, gives the general statistics as to the work of the Exchanges from February 1st to May 27th of the present year.

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TABLE II LABOUR EXCHANGE STATISTICS

FEBRUARY 1ST TO MAY 27TH, 1910

Number of Working Days.	February. 24	March. 25	April. 24	May ¹ . 22	Total for 4 months. 95
Vacancies notified.					
Men . . .	12,156	18,439	20,123	19,352	70,070
Boys . . .	2,427	3,597	3,945	3,552	13,521
Women . . .	5,090	5,771	5,852	6,101	22,814
Girls . . .	1,520	1,897	1,791	1,783	6,991
Total . . .	21,193	29,704	31,711	30,788	113,396
Vacancies filled.					
Men . . .	8,180	13,864	15,957	15,887	53,888
Boys . . .	1,715	2,397	2,973	2,695	9,780
Women . . .	2,053	3,065	3,726	4,168	13,012
Girls . . .	680	1,069	1,202	1,275	4,226
Total . . .	12,628	20,395	23,858	24,025	80,906
Workpeople's Appli- cations on Register at end of period.					
Men . . .	94,234	74,199	64,673	58,986	
Boys . . .	6,769	5,375	4,949	4,438	
Women . . .	9,366	9,264	9,907	9,993	
Girls . . .	2,055	1,789	1,999	1,985	
Total . . .	112,424	90,627	81,523	75,402	
Workpeople's Appli- cations received dur- ing period.					
Men . . .	179,062	95,242	83,422	72,860	430,586
Boys . . .	14,479	9,822	11,613	7,868	43,782
Women . . .	18,961	17,246	17,402	16,171	69,780
Girls . . .	4,311	3,809	4,086	3,493	15,699
Total . . .	216,813	126,119	116,523	100,392	559,847

¹ Excluding the Clothporters' Exchange at Dickenson Street, Manchester.

² The statistics are made up always on a Friday night, so that some months have four, and others have five weeks. March and May included the Easter and Whitsuntide holidays respectively, when the Exchanges were closed.

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This table is given here for what it is worth. The Exchange system is still in process of establishment, and is quite incomplete. The resulting statistics cannot as yet throw any great light on the position of the labour market. They must be regarded simply as an indication of what the Exchanges have been able to accomplish. The following points may be noted :—

1. On the one hand, the number of vacancies filled by the Exchanges has gone steadily upwards, while the numbers of workpeople's applications received and remaining on the register have gone steadily downwards. The first fact indicates the natural growth of the activity of the Exchanges. The second fact is due partly to the general improvement of trade, and partly to more special causes. The publicity given to the opening of the Exchanges attracted to them on the one hand considerable numbers of workmen of very poor industrial capacity who could hardly hope to be employed under any circumstances ; and on the other hand, a certain number of workmen who had hitherto obtained employment through their Unions, or in some other regular way, and who still find these older methods superior in their case to the Labour Exchanges. The dropping off of these two classes in the later months accounts very largely for the heavy fall in the number of applications.

2. The growing ability of the Labour Exchanges to adjust the supply of labour to the demand is shown by the steadily rising percentage which the number of vacancies filled forms of the number of vacancies notified. This percentage was 60 in February, 69 in March, 75 in April, and 78 in May. The percentage varies very considerably for the different classes of applicants. While, for instance, the Exchanges were able in May to fill 82 per cent of the vacancies notified for men, they were only able to fill 68 per cent of those notified for women. A very similar result is shown by many of the principal Ex-

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changes in Germany and may there be attributable to some extent to the fact that these Exchanges deal with domestic service, an occupation in which demand for women appears normally to exceed the supply. In the United Kingdom the effect observed cannot be attributed to this cause since the Exchanges do not fill vacancies for indoor domestic servants (as opposed to daily servants such as charwomen, cleaners, etc.). The places which Exchanges in the United Kingdom are unable to fill are mainly those for skilled women in various branches of the textile and clothing trades. There appears, indeed, to be as regards women a discrepancy of quality between the demand for labour and the supply. A large number of skilled women are wanted at the Exchanges and cannot be found there. On the other hand, a very large number of middle-aged women, often widows, are registered at the Exchanges for work as charwomen and in other unskilled or low-skilled occupations. A contributing cause to the difficulty of filling all the vacancies notified for women has undoubtedly been that women have been less ready than men to use the new institution. This diffidence, however, is now being gradually overcome. The decrease of applications is practically confined to men, while the number of women on the register at the end of May was greater than at any previous date, and the number of fresh applications received during that month represented but a very slight fall from the record number.

3. The number of "workpeople's applications on the register" at any time may be taken as representing separate individuals. The number of "workpeople's applications received" during the month or other period cannot be taken as representing separate individuals, because it includes re-applications by persons whose registration had lapsed after the end of a week, or had been cancelled on their obtaining employment whether for a short or for a long period. No very definite conclusion, therefore, can be drawn from the last set of figures

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in the table giving the workpeople's applications during each month. The form of the regular statistics to be issued in future is now being carefully considered.

4. The accompanying Table III indicates the principal occupations dealt with by the Exchanges.

TABLE III

VACANCIES FILLED TO MAY 27TH. ANALYSED BY TRADES

Building and Works of Construction .	13,315	16·7 per cent.
Metals, Machines, Implements, and Conveyances	11,058	13·7 —
Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Mes- sages	10,612	13·1 —
General Labourers	8,886	11·0 —
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Other Occupations	44,071	54·5 —
	36,835	45·5 —
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	80,906	100·0 —

No regular statistics have yet been prepared showing either the proportions of skilled and unskilled workmen applying and placed, or the proportions of permanent to temporary vacancies offered and filled. As a general statement, however, it may be laid down quite definitely that the work of the Exchange, particularly on the side of men, has come to concern itself principally with skilled vacancies and skilled workmen, because these are the workmen whom employers are least able to obtain rapidly for themselves. The Exchanges, indeed, are undoubtedly very often in a position to obtain for employers better men than the latter could obtain direct for themselves, particularly where any special qualifications are required. Moreover, the managers of the Exchanges, without taking up references regularly, acquire necessarily in the course of their work

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a very detailed knowledge of the capacities of the different workmen applying. No definite information capable of statistical analysis is obtained or could be obtained as to the duration of all the employments to which men are sent, but it is quite certain that only a very small proportion of the vacancies are "casual." According to returns furnished by a number of Exchanges for the month of May, only 15 per cent of all the vacancies filled by them were known to be of less duration than a week. The organization of casual employment through the Labour Exchanges can only be a matter of later development. One important practical step in this direction has, however, already been made by the opening of a special Exchange at 31 Dickenson Street, Manchester, to deal with the clothporters casually employed in the neighbouring warehouses. A considerable number of employers have agreed to take all their men through this Exchange, and have furnished the Exchange with lists of the men familiar with their work, so that these men may be sent in preference to others. About 300 to 400 clothporters are now registered at the Exchange, of whom nearly 200 on an average are sent out to work each day. The total number of separate employers using the Exchange is now over 60.

5. In the statistics as published hitherto no information is given as to the number of men transferred by the Exchanges from one district to another. Regular communication between the different Exchanges for this purpose forms, however, an essential part of the national system. At first arrangements were made for each Exchange in a Division to send to the Divisional Office or Clearing House a "daily return" showing by trades the numbers of all vacancies open and workmen unemployed at that Exchange at that moment. The Divisional Office would then compile these daily returns into a single large form, and issue the combined information again to all the Exchanges. It would also, where one Exchange appeared to

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have workmen of the type required at another Exchange, put the two into direct communication. It was contemplated further that the Divisional Offices would communicate with another and with the Central Office in London, which would publish information for the whole country. Experience, however, has shown that for practical purposes this procedure is unnecessarily cumbersome. It is better for an Exchange having a vacancy which it cannot fill to communicate directly with the Exchanges in the towns where, owing to the nature of their industries, there is most chance of finding the workmen required. The accompanying Table IV shows for the last month the number of vacancies filled by workmen brought from an Exchange different from that to which the vacancy was first notified.

TABLE IV

Applicants placed in districts other than those in which they registered

	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.
May . . .	1291	142	208	48	1689

Most of such places are in London, where there are twenty Exchanges in constant communication with one another. The figures given, however, do not include all the cases in which workmen have been enabled by the Exchanges to find work at a considerable distance from their homes, since they only include men who, after being registered at one Exchange, have been sent to a place notified to another Exchange. As a considerable number of smaller towns are still without Exchanges at all, it often happens that men will be sent direct from the Exchange at which they are registered to an employer in some town ten or twenty or more miles distant. These men appear at present as having been placed in the district of their own Exchange.

6. The work of sending men to vacancies at a distance is

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much facilitated by the power, already mentioned, of advancing railway fares. This power is given by Clause V of the General Regulations. The advance can only be made when the workman is travelling to employment of which he is already assured and which has been found for him through a Labour Exchange. It cannot be made for distances of less than five miles, and cannot exceed the actual fare of the workman himself to the place of employment ; no allowance can be made for the expenses of moving his family, or for his subsistence. It cannot be made when the manager of the Exchange has reason to believe that the employment is due to a trade dispute, or that the wages offered are lower than those current in the trade or district.

The advance may be made either on the employer's account or the workman's, and is made in nearly all cases, not in cash, but by the provision of a voucher entitling him to a railway ticket. As a rule the loan is ultimately repaid by the workman, the employer agreeing to deduct the amount by instalments from the weekly wages and to forward it to the Exchange. Occasionally, however, the employer offers to pay the fare himself in order to make certain of getting the workman to come. In all cases the full fare has to be paid either by the employer or by the workman, as it has not been possible to make any arrangements for workmen sent by the Labour Exchanges to travel, as they do on most of the German railways, at reduced rates.

During the first three months (up to the end of April, 1910) advances of fares were made in about a thousand cases, the total sum advanced being about £250, nearly all of which has been or in all probability will be recovered. Of course a certain number of bad debts are inevitable in this connection, but speaking generally, the provision for advancing fares has been found to confer very great advantages with relatively little risk of loss to the Exchequer.

7. The numbers of vacancies filled by the Exchanges in six

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of the largest towns of the country from February last to May 27th are as follows :—

London	.	.	.	.	.	.	22,138
Glasgow	.	.	.	.	.	.	9602
Manchester	.	.	.	.	.	.	3857
Birmingham	.	.	.	.	.	.	2187
Edinburgh	.	.	.	.	.	.	2071
Nottingham	.	.	.	.	.	.	2019

In London the Board of Trade had the great advantage of being able to take over a system of Labour Exchanges already established and at work, and has simply had to enlarge and develop this system, while closing some of the smaller offices which proved to be unnecessary. There are now twenty-two Exchanges in the London area, which includes suburbs such as Tottenham, West Ham, and Croydon. In the other towns mentioned there were also in existence at the time of the passing of the Labour Exchanges Act, Bureaux or Exchanges established by Distress Committees, but these had not been so far developed as the London Exchanges.

Conclusion

The Labour Exchange system that has been described above is clearly too new to be the subject of any final judgment. As all those who have made the attempt must be aware, the bringing of Labour Exchanges into general use in any country is necessarily a slow process, involving as it does the breaking down of many established customs, the combating of much indifference and the clearing away of many misunderstandings. So far, however, as the Exchanges in the United Kingdom have gone, it may fairly be said that they have been on the whole well received, and are rapidly settling down into part of the industrial machinery of the country.

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On the side of the Trade Unions the advantages of Labour Exchange organization to the workmen have been fairly generally recognized. There have, of course, been complaints against supplying men in certain cases of disputes ; and there has been in some quarters the fear of competition with the Exchange systems of the Unions themselves. Speaking generally, however, the Unions have recognized the advantage which the Exchanges must confer upon the capable workman who is really desirous of employment, and accordingly they have felt it to be in their interest to use the Exchanges themselves rather than to leave them to non-Unionists alone. Before the introduction of the Labour Exchanges Bill a National Conference of Trade Union Delegates convened by the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress resolved unanimously, " That this Conference of Trade Union Delegates, representing 1,400,000 Trade Unionists, approves of the establishment of Labour Exchanges on a national basis under the control of the Board of Trade, provided that the Managing Board contains at least an equal proportion of employers and representatives of Trade Unions." Since the establishment of Labour Exchanges a fair number of Unions or branches of Unions have instructed all their workmen to register regularly at the Exchanges, and one or two have already proposed to make such registration and the production of a registration card a condition of receipt of unemployment benefit.

As regards employers, it is no doubt unnecessary to say that they are not by any means all converted to the use of Labour Exchanges. At the same time, the growing use of the Exchanges is itself evidence of growing confidence on their part. Even better evidence is accorded by the readiness of considerable numbers of employers to adopt the Exchanges as their regular method of obtaining all their labour, and to place upon their factory gates notices stating that applicants for employment should apply to the Labour Exchange. So many

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employers, indeed, have expressed their willingness to exhibit such notices that arrangements have been made to prepare a special placard bearing on it the words, "Applicants for employment in these works should apply to the Labour Exchange at ——" It is hoped that several hundreds of these notices will shortly be in use, and that the number will grow continually. In the meantime, a considerable number of temporary notices to this effect are already in position. They are likely, indeed, to offer to prove as advantageous to the employer as to the Exchange. At present, a good workman coming to an employer's gates at a time when his services are not required passes on and is lost to sight, and cannot be found again later if required. If, however, the workman on coming to the employer's gates is directed to the Exchange, he gets registered, and a permanent record of him is made there, so that he may be sent to the employer if required at any subsequent time.

To conclude, then, the Labour Exchange system in the United Kingdom is only just beginning, but its beginning is at least very hopeful. Its establishment has been beset by special difficulties, but has also been aided by certain special advantages. There were great difficulties in starting all at one moment with a new and entirely untrained staff. On the other hand, there were special advantages in starting with a considerable amount of public attention at the outset and also at the beginning of a strong trade revival. There was also one other advantage which deserves special mention here, namely, the example of successful Labour Exchanges in other countries and the many practical lessons that were derived from observation of their working. It is to be hoped that the British Exchanges will in their turn form a valuable example for these other countries and mark an important step forward in the common attack of all nations upon their common disease of unemployment.

[This paper was read at the International Conference on

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Unemployment held in Paris in September last. The following are later statistics not then available :—

LABOUR EXCHANGE STATISTICS

MAY 28TH TO SEPTEMBER 30TH

Number of Working Days.	June. 30	July. 24	August. 23	September. 30	Total for Four Months.
Vacancies notified.					
Men .	32,561	25,788	24,913	33,280	116,542
Boys .	5,810	3,920	4,197	6,473	20,400
Women .	10,269	7,886	6,598	10,915	35,668
Girls .	2,777	2,152	2,183	3,270	10,382
Total .	51,417	39,746	37,891	53,938	182,992
Vacancies filled.					
Men .	27,558	22,554	21,015	28,614	99,741
Boys .	4,454	3,149	3,458	5,184	16,245
Women .	7,570	6,352	5,032	8,764	27,718
Girls .	2,068	1,758	1,752	2,752	8,330
Total .	41,650	33,813	31,257	45,314	152,034

The Appendices referred to in the text are not reprinted here. They give simply information readily available in public documents such as the Labour Exchanges Act, and the General Regulations made under that Act.—EDITOR.]

HORACE.¹

THERE is one old Roman whom the public-school boy, even the Modern Sider, still reads when his schooldays are over. We have even known the business man carry him in his pocket and cull short snatches—somewhat shamefacedly—in the train. That author is Horace. An author whose influence extends from schooldays to the sunset of our days, whose charm never fails, whose mellow wisdom never cloy, deserves the best that the printer's art can achieve. In the full sense of the words, he deserves "to don the robes of immortality," and this the Medici Press have achieved for him. The printing of this book and the general get-up are according to the best traditions of English typography. On every page one sees the outward and visible sign of the inward sense of perfection "that winces at bad work and loves the true."

When one thinks of the conventional array of calf-bound books with gilt lettering that adorn the table set out at the annual prize-giving ; when one thinks of the bourgeois drawing-rooms in which the calf-bound, gold-lettered volume is fated to be enshrined, a useless fetish that serves no purpose except the purpose of vainglory—my own collection contains an antiquated edition of Gibbon, an exhaustive treatise on the mammals, with illustrations, another on the mysteries of pond life (mysteries which I have been content to leave mysterious and unexplored), a treatise on the forces of nature which curls the lip of my friend the electric engineer, and three copies—no less—of the *Decisive Battles of the World*, and a Shakespeare in which all the "damns" have been carefully emended—when one gazes on

¹ *Q. Horatii Flacci Opera* ; ed. E. C. Wickham (Medici Society, 38 Albemarle Street, W. Boards, 16s. ; limp vellum, 25s.).

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these futile monitors of days that are no more, there comes home to one's mind the truth of Shakespeare's lines—

. . . All things that are,
Are with more spirit chased than enjoyed.

Twice when I have moved house has my own collection been within less than the proverbial ace of the jumble sale.

The prize-distribution table is become the dumping-ground of all manner of pretentious productions which no one will buy for their own sake, and it is time that schools outgrew the "Catalogues of remainders, suitable for school prizes and gift books."

This Medici Horace, with Dean Wickham's text, gives the schools their chance. It is as unsullied by note or comment as a Cowper-Temple Bible lesson. It is a book which compels respect, which as soon as one opens it disperses all mean associations, and makes one feel in some measure the calm unchallenged dignity of classic thought.

J. L. PATON.

POETRY AND TEACHING¹

THESE four lectures were given to the student teachers of Liverpool by their Professor of Education, and happy are the students whose professor can speak to them with so little that is professorial or pontifical about these things which belong to the inward culture. There is nothing original in these lectures with regard to the essence or the art of poetry. The illustrations even are all well-known friends. What is original is the simplicity and transparent clearness of the presentment. Professor Campagnac writes, like the poet he admires so sincerely, "with his eye on the object." Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh; that language of the overflowing heart is poetry. In all such spontaneous outpour of strong feeling there will be a complete fusion of form and matter. The poet "does not dress his thoughts in the garments of words—as if one garment might be exchanged for another. The dress and the body are one. We speak of the trees being dressed in green; but the greenness of the tree is the tree itself; is, if you like, its self-expression. The poet's words are suitable to his thoughts because they *are* his thoughts made manifest."

Wordsworth spoke of himself as a teacher. In the same way every teacher should conceive of himself, quite humbly but in a very real sense, as a poet. He should have the same sense of vocation, the same delight in his work. His subjects, like Wordsworth's, are the simplest of facts and the simplest of sentiments; but in these simple things he sees the infinite of far horizons, "in worlds to which the heaven of heavens is as a veil." And, like the poet, the teacher

¹ *Poetry and Teaching*, by E. T. Campagnac, p. 63. 1s. net. Constable.

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imparts not knowledge merely, or information, but himself. That is the ultimate lesson which remains when all the mathematical formulæ and unfructifying paradigms have become the prey of dumb forgetfulness. For the enrichment and quickening of that central self these lectures will be more helpful than many treatises and technical terms on pedagogic science.

